

British Colonies vol 3.
OF THE
ADMINISTRATION
OF THE
LEADER
IN THE
INDIAN DIRECTION
SHOWING,

By what *great* and *noble* Efforts he has brought the
Company's Affairs into their present *happy* Situation.



1758

L O N D O N

Printed for G. Kearsly, opposite St. Martin's-Church, in
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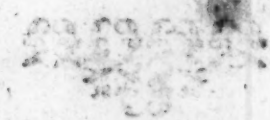
ADMINISTRATIVE

OF THE
R E A D E R S



IN THE
DIRECTOR

Company's Affairs and the present situation.



LONDON
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Long-street.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
ADMINISTRATION, &c.

I Shall not consider the *India* Direction under the Influence of any particular Man till the Year 1758, when most of the old Directors, wearied out with the continual Dispute and Altercation which had been so frequent of late, quitted; and the Lead devolved on that Director who had been the chief Promoter of the late Dissentions. Mr. R——'s Character for Probity and Disinterestedness gave him some Weight, but he might rather be said to share the Trouble than the Power.

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Happily

Happily for the new Leader, the News of the Victory of *Plassey* arrived soon after his Victory over Mr. *P——e*. This at once dissipated all those gloomy Apprehensions which the impending Ruin of the Company might have created. The great and successful Efforts of the Company's Servants, and of the King's and Company's Forces, throughout *India*, facilitated all his Measures; and his Administration borrowed a Lustre from them, which it by no Means deserved: For every one knows how little Assistance was received from *Europe*, till the Arrival of General *Draper's* Regiment, just before the *French* raised the Siege of Fort *St. George*. A Gentleman, indeed, at the last General Court, arrogated to himself the Honour of having extricated the Company from the Variety of Distresses they laboured under; but, though I am willing to allow him the Merit that may be due to him, for the present State of their Affairs, yet, let us not blend his Name with those of *Lawrence, Clive, Piggot, Draper, Forde, Coote, Caillaud, Preston, Smith, Monson, Carnac, Knox*, and those many valuable Servants of the Company, who distinguished themselves by a zealous Unanimity for the public Service.

India was, at this Time, full of valuable, faithful, and experienced Officers and Servants. Instead of rewarding their Merits, it seemed to be a Study how to exasperate and drive them out of *India*. Possibly a Resistance was apprehended to the Plan, which seems to have been at this Time adopted, of founding absolute Power at Home, on absolute Power Abroad. This Spirit soon displayed itself all over *India*. Mr. *Bouchier* was ordered to quit the Government of *Bombay*, after fifty Years Service,

Service, without any one Cause being assigned for it. The Letters from the Directors to *Madras*, were expressed in a most haughty and offensive Style, overlooking every meritorious Action, and catching at every Opportunity to blame and disapprove:— But the Gentlemen of *Calcutta* were the more immediate Objects of their Resentment.

It is to be observed, that a Spirit of Liberty and Independency reigns in that Settlement, which is unknown in other Parts of *India*; and this arises from the extensive Trade they enjoy, both with the inland Countries, and other Parts of *India*, (productive of a great Revenue, in Consulage and other Duties, to the Company) and partly, from the Independency which the Court of Justice established there by Charter, has maintained; which is a great Barrier against the Oppression of the Company and the Governor. This the Company have greatly checked in the other Settlements, by obliging them to elect their Mayor and Aldermen chiefly from among the Servants of the Company, who, depending on the Company's Service alone for their Subsistence, are intimidated from giving such free Decrees in Cases where the Company, or Governor, are interested, as in *Bengal*; where a Property, independent of the Company, permits them greater Freedom of Action. The same Spirit makes them unwilling to submit to the injurious Treatment of their Superiors

The Gentlemen of *Bengal* experienced a new Spirit in the Administration at Home: Instead of the Applause they naturally expected for the important Services they had rendered the

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Company, in restoring their Affairs from the Ruin and Confusion, in which the Caprice and Cruelty of the Nabob *Suraja Dowla* had involved them, they found their Conduct and Characters injuriously villified in the most opprobrious Terms: — Actions, which sprung from a real and sincere Zeal for the public Good, were attributed to the most infamous Motives, of which (but it would be entering into too minute a Detail of what every Proprietor, who is pleased to enquire, may be informed of) I could bring such strong and frequent Instances, as every Gentleman would acknowledge insupportable by Men of Honour.

And this I may boldly ascribe to the Leader; for, a worthy Gentleman, then in the Direction, declared, at a General Court, that he had declined signing these Letters, and had foretold their fatal Tendency. No Man of Merit escaped Colonel *Clive*, to whom, not the Settlement alone, but the Company, owed their Preservation, had most Reason to be offended, both with their Language and their Measures; and Colonel *Forde*, who, by the Expedition into the *French* Provinces, planned by Lord *Clive* alone, and executed by him with a Conduct that leaves him second to none of those gallant Officers, who distinguished themselves in that Part of the World, was superseded and injuriously treated in their Letters, and by their Conduct at home; for, by their neglecting to solicit his Majesty's Pardon, for continuing in the Company's Service, after his Regiment was ordered home, he was struck off the List of Officers. Nor was this all; — the Gentlemen of *Bengal* were superseded in a Variety of Instances, without the least Regard to Merit. The Sense of these Injuries, and of the fatal Consequences

quences that might result to the Company from such a Conduct, induced them to close one of their Letters to the Directors with the following Paragraph :

“ Having fully spoken to every Branch of your Affairs at this Presidency, under the established Heads, we cannot (consistent with the real Anxiety we feel for the future Welfare of that respectable Body for whom you and we are in Trust) close this Address, without expostulating, with Freedom, on the unprovoked and general Asperity of your Letters, *per* Prince Henry Packet. Our Sentiments on this Head, will, we doubt not, acquire additional Weight, from the Consideration of their being subscribed by a Majority of your Council, who are, at this Period, quitting your Service, and consequently independent and disinterested. Permit us to say, that the Diction of your Letter is most unworthy yourselves and us, in whatever Relations considered, either as Masters to Servants, or Gentlemen to Gentlemen. Mere Inadvertencies, casual Neglects (arising from an unavoidable and most complicated Confusion in the State of your Affairs) have been treated in such Language and Sentiments, as nothing but the most glaring and premeditated Frauds could warrant. Groundless Informations, without further Scrutiny, have borne, with you, the Stamp of Truth, tho' proceeding from those who had therein obviously their own Purposes to serve, no Matter at whose Expence. These have received from you such Countenance and Encouragement, as must most assuredly tend to cool the warmest Zeal of your Servants, here and every where else ; as they will appear to have been only the Source of general Reflections, thrown out at Random against your faithful

Servants of this Presidency, in various Parts of your Letter now before us. Faithful to little Purpose, if the Breath of Scandal, joined to private Pique and personal Attachments, have Power to blow away, in one Hour, the Merits of many Years Services, and deprive them of that Rank, and those rising Benefits, which are justly a Spur to their Integrity and Application. The little Attention shewn to these Considerations, in the indiscriminate Favours heaped on some Individuals, and undeserved Frowns on others, will, we apprehend, lessen that spirited Zeal so very essential to the well-being of your Affairs, and consequently in the End, if continued, prove the Destruction of them. Private Views may, and it is much to be feared will, take the Lead here from Examples at home, and no Gentleman hold your Service longer, nor exert themselves further in it, than their own Exigencies require. This being the real present State of your Service, it becomes strictly our Duty to represent it in the strongest Light, or we should, with little Truth, and less Propriety, subscribe ourselves,

May it please your Honours,

Your most faithful and most

Obedient humble Servants,

Robert Clive,

Thomas Boddam,

Charles Manningham, Charles Staff. Playdell,

Richard Beecher, William B. Sumner,

William Frankland, William M'Gwyre,

Ino. Zeph. Holwell, John Cooke.

William Macket,

At

At the same Time the following Gentlemen quitted the Service :

Colonel <i>Clive</i> ,	
Colonel <i>Forde</i> ,	
Mr. <i>Manningham</i> ,	2d of Council.
Mr. <i>Beecher</i> ,	3d of Council.
Mr. <i>Frankland</i> ,	5th of Council.
Mr. <i>Macket</i> ,	6th of Council.
Mr. <i>Boddam</i> ,	7th of Council.
Mr. <i>Cooke</i> ,	9th of Council.
Mr. <i>Scrafton</i> ,	next to Council.

Of these Gentlemen, two only could be said to have voluntarily quitted on Account of their Health; the rest were driven out of the Service, because it was incompatible with their Honour to continue in it, not only for the injurious and unmerited Reflections cast upon their Characters, but for being superseded by those, in whom they had no Reason to believe any superior Merit; for the Point of Honour, in that Service is, to succeed, by regular Gradations, to the higher Stations, if their Behaviour proved not unworthy of it.

The Consequence of these Resignations was, that the Government devolved on Mr. *Holwell*: — The Succession to the Council to very young Servants: — The Authority of the Directors was lost, by their Abuse of it, and the present Administration was universally detested in the Settlement. Such were the Actions relative to the Affairs abroad, which signalized the first Year of the new Administration,

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At Home there sprung a new and fatal Abuse of Power in having every Affair of Importance prepared in the select Committee, in the forming of which great Care was taken to have no refractory Spirits; Orders were issued, signed by them only, against the Laws of the Company, which gave Validity to no Orders but what are signed by thirteen Directors; and the Leader in this Committee commenced a private Correspondence with the Servants all over *India*.

It may be well imagined, the Number of Gentlemen who had been disgraced Abroad, came Home full of Resentment. They had, indeed, expressed themselves much more freely in their Discourse than in their Letters; and had declared, they imputed the Injuries they had received to one Man only. To ward off all the Dangers of a Storm, so naturally to be apprehended, this Leading Director first endeavoured to appease Colonel *Clive*, by assuring him, he was by no Means struck at in their Letters to *Bengal*:— That they concluded he must have left *India* before those Letters arrived:— That they were too sensible of the eminent Services he had rendered the Company, to be capable of any Injustice towards him:— With such Kind of Language as would naturally make an Impression on a Gentleman, as remarkable for Good-Nature as for his more shining Qualities.

Thus was Lord *Clive* pacified; *but for the rest*, their Resentment was vain against an united Direction. From this Time, however, there is no Doubt but the Leader foresaw he must one Day expect an Opposition, from the numerous and formidable Body of those he had injured. He, therefore, turned his
Thoughts

Thoughts to the forming a strong proprietary Interest, and seemed determined to keep every Gentleman out of the Direction, who might pretend to rival him in Knowledge of the Company's Affairs; and as the Influence and Reputation of Colonel *Clive* might one Day turn against him, he began to insinuate those injurious Reflections, which afterwards appeared in the public Papers.

The next Step was to give a Loose to Revenge, and to convince the Gentlemen Abroad, that neither Colonel *Clive's*, nor their own Merit, should protect them against an all-powerful Leader at Home; every Man who had signed the Letter before-mentioned, was turned out, and ordered out of *India*: And further, to shew, that neither Character, nor past Services, were to avail, Messieurs *Manningham* and *Frankland*, two old and valuable Servants, who were not yet arrived in *Europe*, though known to have left *India*, were ordered away from whatsoever Part of *India* they might be in: And this was done, notwithstanding the most earnest Sollicitations from Colonel *Clive*, and the Friends of those Gentlemen, and Well-Wishers to the Company; one of whom remonstrating on the fatal Consequences which might attend so violent a Measure, told the Great Director, "it would make the Company's Affairs run wild; that so many of the senior Servants had perished in the *Black-Hole*, that none but very young People were to succeed." But the Consideration of the Company's Interest could not avail against the Resentment of a Man armed with such Power, and the following Gentlemen were added to the Number of the Proscribed, viz. Messieurs *Sumner*, *McGuire*, *Holwell*, and *Playdell*.

One of these Gentlemen, Mr. *McGuire*, indeed, obtained a Favour, the others could not ; a positive Assurance that he should be re-instated, which being denied to the rest, Mr. *Sumner* and Mr. *Playdell* were obliged to quit *India* immediately ; and as a Gentleman in the Direction had insinuated to Mr. *Vanfittart*, that he owed his Government to him ; or, to use his own Words, " He was his earthly Creator," he thought he had pretty well subdued the Spirit of Liberty in *Bengal*. But though Mr. *Vanfittart* was received in the Settlement with great Cordiality, and his superseding the Servants there, acquiesced in, yet, the Revolution he effected within three Months of his Arrival, divided the Settlement into two Parties.

I have before mentioned, that a very offensive Letter had been wrote to Fort *St. George* ; it met with as spirited an Answer, but more guarded in the Expression. Mr. *Piggot's* Character was the Barrier, which preserved the Gentlemen there from Resentment ; but a strict Enquiry was made after the Penman of the Letter, and could he have been discovered, would undoubtedly have been sacrificed. But the Appointment of the Reverend Mr. *Palk* to the Government of *Fort St. George*, was a sufficient Indication to the Servants of that Settlement, where the Power lay at Home ; for this Gentleman was entirely out of the Line of Succession, but had an Interest in the West of *England*.

The only independent Man amongst those injured by this Appointment, were Mr. *Andrews*, and Mr. *Smith*, and they immediately resigned ; the rest were forced to submit. As for *Bombay*,

bay, no Body but the Governor is heard, or thought of; and he was in the Leading-Strings of Mr. Sp——r.

It was thought necessary, that the Man who aspired to a despotic Sway in the *India* Direction, should have Weight at both Ends of the Town. The Recommendation of Mr. P——, induced the Chairman to make a Journey into *Devonshire*. And at this critical Time it was found for the Interest of the Company, to Purchase a great Quantity of *Ashburton* Long Ells. During his long Attendance in the West, every Thing was sent down for his Approbation, and at two hundred Miles Distance, he dictated the minutest Order relative to the Company; so there is no Wonder the People of that Country should say, The *India* Company was come down amongst them. Notwithstanding these extraordinary Efforts, the End of this Journey proved fruitless; but a great Person then coming into Power, obtained for the Leader the Object of his Wishes in another Quarter.

Almost the whole of the Appointments, both foreign and domestic, now devolved on one Man; and all were disposed of with a View either to a ministerial or proprietary Power. There seemed to be but one Cloud in the whole Prospect: This was, how to have the Settlement of *Bengal* in due Obedience. Mr. *Vanfittart* was to be relied on; but the opposite Party being headed by Mr. *Amyatt*, and Major *Carnac*, two Gentlemen of the fairest Character, it seemed to acquire Strength. For the present, the Revolution of the Year 1760, was vigorously adopted, a Great Director loudly declaring, it eclipsed the Glories of *Plassey*, and instilled into the Minds of the Directors his own Prejudices against all who served the Company in that Settlement,

ment, of whom he thus expressed himself in a Letter, to *India*,
 “ Those Wretches of *Bengal* have ruffled my Temper.”

How different this, from the Conduct of those Gentlemen who had the Lead in the Direction, when the fatal News arrived of the Loss of all the *Bengal* Settlements! Instead of attending to the mutual Recriminations of the Servants in their public and private Letters, (which arose from the Suddenness and the unexpected Manner in which that Calamity came upon them, and made them seek a Cause in their Conduct, which had really none but the wanton Caprice of a young Tyrant) they treated the Governor with great Lenity, and recommended it to the rest of the Council to shew their Zeal for the Company, by unanimously concurring in every Measure to retrieve their Affairs; and by this wise Conduct they established that Harmony, which reigned uninterruptedly, until the violent Measures from Home inflamed their Minds.

The Gentlemen who had thus heedlessly thrown this exorbitant Power into one Man's Hands, began to see how much the Company's Affairs were made subservient to him; and Mr. R——s remonstrated strongly against the uncommon Power exerted of late Years by the secret Committee, which was originally established for no other Purpose than in Time of War, giving Signals and secret Instructions to Captains of Ships; but now become a Cabinet Council, where every Thing is prepared for the Directors to sign, rather than approve. Such a Remonstrance offended a Gentleman in the Direction so much, that though there was a great outward Friendship between them, he wrote to a Friend at *Bombay*, “ There must be a Rupture between Mr. R——s and me; but you may be assured the Proprietors will support me.” The

The same Gentleman now thought fit to give the Ministry a convincing Proof of his Power, by bringing to the Court of Directors a Plan, ready prepared, for an Expedition against the *Manillas*. Though the strongest Remonstrances were made against it, evidently shewing it could not (however successful in the Execution) be productive of the least Advantage to the Company;—that such a Diversion of our Naval and Land Forces might encourage the fallen *French* to shew themselves again in *India*;—that some Country Power might disturb us, weakened as we thus should be;—that even the Acquisition was pernicious;—besides, that a Peace was probably at Hand, when it would be delivered up.—These Remonstrances all proved ineffectual.—Were I to reveal the only Argument, put in competition with these truly prophetic Remonstrances, it might indeed be said, that some Director was possessed of a magic Power to delude the Minds of Men.

The Plan was pursued and successfully executed, but what were the Consequences? A vast expence; a great Diversion of our Forces, of whom many perished in the Expedition; a very dangerous and alarming War now existing, and requiring our whole Force to Act in the Field: Whilst the *French* Ships once more shewed themselves in *India*, and but for a very fortunate Circumstance, would have taken every *English* Ship that sailed out of the *Ganges*.

I come now to that extraordinary Period, when a great Director thought fit to quit for a Year without any Prejudice to his Power. The first Part of it was dedicated to an assiduous At-

tendance on the Ministry and Parliament; for it is too much a received Maxim, that one Director at least should have a personal Interest with the Ministry, for which I really see no Necessity, whilst they have nothing to ask incompatible with the public Good. Early in this Year the Negotiation with *France* began; a Gentleman out of the Direction took the Lead, and made himself considered at the West-End of the Town, as the Dictator to the East; with this Advantage, that being out of the Direction, he could not be responsible for their Measures: I am not at liberty to communicate the Particulars of this dark Scene, and therefore shall repeat here, only what was mentioned in the General Court, that though a Shew was made of consulting some Gentlemen, whose Rank and Experience entitled them to that Deference; yet they were told, it was probable at the very Time they were deliberating on the Terms to be made with *France* respecting the Company, they were already settled at *Paris*. And it soon after appeared, that the Treating with the Directors, was but to force them to approve of — what? — a Treaty already settled, which with a Stroke of the Pen would have blasted the Fruits of our long Struggles through a glorious and successful War. When the confused and blundering Preliminary Article appeared, it occasioned a general Murmur; and by such Arts as few Men dare put in Practice, the Clamour was directed against Mr. *R——e*, who afterwards publicly vindicated himself greatly to his Honour: And it was Lord *Clive*, who by his Remonstrances saved those Conquests, his Sword had so great a Share in acquiring; a Ministerial Gentleman acknowledged in the General Court, that it was upon his Lordship's Application the Preliminary was altered, and the

Definitive

Definitive Article was obtained from the Court of *France* by the steady Perseverance of our Ambassador.

The Disputes on this Occasion became entirely a Party Affair; and one Party triumphed so completely over their Adversaries, that not one of their List obtained a Seat in the Direction; and now we shall see the Use made of this Power. The Plan of absolute Authority at Home and Abroad was immediately resumed, setting no Bounds either to Partiality or Resentment. The many injurious Attacks on Lord *Clive's* Character during the Contest, were immediately followed by an Attack upon his Fortune, with which his Lordship has informed the World in his Address to the Proprietors; which, notwithstanding the Assurances from the Chair at the General Court, remains as yet unanswered, and will, I believe, for ever remain so; the same Violence which dictated the Measure will be exerted to support it; and the Proprietors, though they detest the Act, must contribute their Proportion in the Expence of this unjust Prosecution of the most valuable Servant they ever had, and which, if suffered to go on, will probably be at last decided against them, and remain a standing Example to their Servants of the Ingratitude of their Employers.

Here we see Resentment depriving a worthy Man of his undoubted Right to £30,000 *per Annum*, to which the Company do not even pretend a Claim: Whilst on the other Hand, we see another Gentleman rewarded with a Commission quite unprecedented of Two and a Half *per Cent* on the Company's Revenues, (amounting to £15000 *per Annum*) together with
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the Arrears of two Years, as the Reward of Measures, which were far from being generally approved;—and indeed, if that Gentleman does not, when he comes Home, defend them better than his Friends have done for him, I fear, they never will be approved.

This was not the only Instance of a Profusion of the Company's Money. As it was reasonable to suppose Mr. *Piggot* was come away, and Mr. *Palk* in the Government of Fort St. George, a Commission was also decreed him of Two and a Half *per Cent*, on the Debt due from the *Nabob* of the *Carnatic*, amounting to a Million Sterling: And that the Persecution of the unhappy Settlement of *Bengal* might keep Pace with Power, Mr. *Spencer* was now ordered from Sixth in Council at *Bombay*, to Third in Council at *Bengal*; and in Case of his Refusal, one *Price* was ordered from the same Factory. Sure Prelude of the Disgrace, that worthy but unfortunate Gentleman, Mr. *Amyatt*, was to expect.

Other Objects of Partiality were, an Agent at *Bufforah*, by whom the Company lost £30,000; and the Governor of the West Coast——how worthy of it, let the Proprietors enquire.

This was the Conduct respecting Affairs abroad: At home the Company's whole Power was exerted to obtain a Proprietary Interest. To secure one great Proprietor, a Voyage was obtained, which on the most moderate Computation, must be a Loss to the Company of, from 10 to 15000*l*. To serve other
Friends,

Friends, six Ships were ordered to touch at *Madeira*, to take in Wines (for which one alone sufficed in former Years) to the great Loss of the Company, in Freight and Demurrage, besides the Risk attending the prolonging of the Voyage; and many other Instances of Partiality and Profusion, probably the promised Rewards of the Support met with in the preceding Year. In all this, there was no Opposition from the Gentlemen in the Direction: Many yielded these Points up, out of Compliance to a Man whose great Affiduity entitled him to a Preference; others feared their Leader's Power, and Consequence of his Resentment; but impatient to have all *India* subjugated, the last Stroke was now put to the Persecution of the Gentlemen of *Bengal*, by dismissing from the Service Mr. *Amyatt*, Major *Carnac*, and Messieurs *Johnstone*, *Hay*, *Batson*, and *Watts*; and to make the Terror complete, two Factors and two Writers were selected as Examples; all Men of unblemished Characters, three of whom had risked their Lives in many Actions.

Mr. *Spencer* was appointed to succeed to the Chair of *Bengal*. Here ten of the Gentlemen in the Direction dissented, who trembled for the Consequences of such a Supercession, and the Disunion it must unavoidably create in that already distracted Settlement, as well as from the Effects of that Gentleman's Inexperience: Nay, indeed, they had only one Gentleman's Word to believe, that Mr. *Spencer* would accept it; which many strong Reasons induced them to think he would not; and if he declined it, the Government was then to devolve on——whom? on one *Price*, also of *Bombay*, for whose Integrity and Abilities (though often demanded in General Courts) no one stood forth

to answer; and this in Preference to Mr. *Sumner*, who considered it as his Right, in Point of Rank, and had merited it by a long Course of faithful and approved Services, at that very Settlement.

During this Dispute arrived the fatal News of the unhappy State of *Bengal*, now probably become the Theatre of a long and bloody War. The fatal Consequences to be apprehended from such Measures as had been taken, began to alarm the Proprietors.—A general Court was called,—I am sorry to call in Question the Candour of the Gentlemen in the Direction: I must believe they were misled.—They pretended to lay before us all the Transactions, on which they grounded the late Dismissions and Appointments.—But where was their Candour, when they omitted every Paper, which might tend to the Justification of the unhappy Gentlemen; some of whom had lost their Lives in the Service; others then fighting for the very Men, who had disgraced them? Were not whole Paragraphs omitted in the Body of Letters read to us? And what Struggles had we with two learned Pleaders to obtain any Papers we called for! What was the Result? What Crime appeared against them? Was it the Trade they carried on in the Country?—That was common to all; Mr. *Vanfittart* was the deepest engaged in it: Nor did it appear criminal, or any Breach of Duty to the Company. Was it from the Disapprobation of the Treaty of Commerce made by Mr. *Vanfittart*? That seemed to be condemned by the general Voice of the whole Settlement—by every Gentleman of Experience in the Affairs of *India*, then present at the general Courts, both within the Bar and without—by even Mr. *Vanfittart*

start himself, whose Minutes were read, wherein he acknowledged the Errors of it. The brave and successful Officer, Major *Carnac*, a Gentleman of known Honour, was, indeed, dismissed for giving his Opinion in Council, when called upon; and the rest seem all to have suffered for differing in Opinion with the Governor:—A Crime, which seemed common to Messieurs *Verelst* and *Cartier*, both of the Council, and to the whole Settlement, except one Man.

Thus were six worthy Men, at once, added to the Number of the Proscribed; and to these I must add the two last named; for unless the Apprehensions of Ruin may have broken their Minds, I am sure they will not submit to the Indignity of being superseded (especially by Gentlemen from *Bombay*) or desire to be exempted from a Punishment, to which their Conduct exposed them in common with the rest. What then is like to be the Condition of this unhappy Settlement? Every unbiassed Proprietor was struck with a Sense of the Danger it was in, and with one common Voice called upon Lord *Clive* to go Abroad, vested with the Command Civil and Military.

His Lordship, thus called upon, declared he should not decline the Honour done him, whenever he saw a united Direction well disposed towards him; but observed, how incompatible it would be with his Honour, and with the Views he had to the public Good, to go Abroad while the Direction at Home remained under the Influence of a Man, who had been his open or concealed Enemy, ever since he had been in *England*; with many other Arguments it now would be unnecessary for me to

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repeat, as the Public have already seen his Lordship's spirited and manly Letter to the Directors. But I must add one Reason for keeping Mr. ——— out of the Direction, as it naturally results from that Gentleman's Conduct towards the *Bengal* Servants, which is, That as long as he remains in Power, the Company must not expect either Stability to their Affairs, or Unanimity will prevail in that Settlement. The Minds of People abroad are too much embittered against him, ever to repose any Confidence in him, and though Lord *Clive* might dispose them to a unanimous and chearful Concurrence under him for the public Good, yet Confusion would return the Moment he should leave them, as they would be expecting Revenge and Disgrace by every Ship.

I am sorry to have been forced to speak so freely; some of the Directors are undoubtedly Gentlemen of Sense and Merit; but when it is considered by what wonderful Arts Mr. *P*—— was drove out of the Direction, and afterwards Mr. *R*——, and the Clamour raised against a Man of his Probity, they may confess themselves deceived.

It is well known how great a private Correspondence is carried on with People in *India*, their Letters are often produced as Evidence: False Constructions, Mis-representations — such as for Example, when the Inexperience of Mr. *Spencer* in the Affairs of *Bengal* was urged, it was replied, That “ he could “ not surely be deemed inexperienced, who was so conversant “ in the Affairs of *Debli* and *Sittarah*.” This might pass with Men totally destitute of all Geographical Knowledge; but the
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Absurdity was notorious to every Gentleman who had been in the Country. I only mention this as an Instance familiar to us ; or, if that be not Proof, we all know, the vile and artful Insinuations flung out against Lord *Clive*, and the Effect they had on the Ignorant, till his Lordship thought fit to Answer them. Let every Director lay his Hand to his Heart and declare, whether he would have concurred in stopping his *Jaghire*, had it appeared to him in the Light it now does : Or let any Gentleman now in Direction, converse with People of Experience, and try, whether he can then approve his own Conduct in having set his Hand to the Ruin and Disgrace of so many Men of Worth and Merit, as have been proscribed in *Bengal* since the Year 1758 ; more, I believe, than since the Commencement of the Company to this Time put together.

To what Motives are we to ascribe such a Persecution, and such Violations of the regular Rules of the Service ; one undoubtedly was by removing *Spencer* from *Bombay*, to make Room for the Son-in-Law of Governor *Law*, to the Presidency of that Settlement — a stronger, was to have a Governor and Committee from whom an Obedience might be expected at *Bengal*, that they concur in every Measure to deprive Lord *Clive* of his *Jaghire*, a Mark of Obedience that could not be expected from those of the Settlement, where Lord *Clive* is esteemed their Benefactor and Preserver : And an unforgiving Temper feels and remembers the Freedom with which one Gentleman's Conduct and Character are treated in *Bengal*.

Had not the Proprietors interposed, there is great Reason to think Mr. *Piggot* would have been ordered from Fort *St. George*, to make Way for Mr. *Palk*, and Mr. *Crommelin* from *Bombay*, to make Room for Mr. *Hodges*; and thus the Plan of absolute Power at Home and Abroad would have been effected, and when the Measures taken should produce a dangerous Crisis the Author of them might retire, *fort a fait aise*.

Let us now examine the present State of the Company's Affairs abroad and at home, and fairly give Merit where it is due. If any Man claims the Merit of the War broke out on the *Choromandel* Coast, which is certainly to be deduced from the Expedition to the *Manillas*, let him have it.

At *Bengal* a War broke out; the Settlements distracted by their own Dissentions; every valuable Man expelled the Service; absolute Power given to Mr. *V*—— to Act independent of his Council; and if he is come away, the Government falls to *Spencer*, or *Price*, both Strangers, without Experience, hated by the Settlement, as the Favourites of their Patron here, and as People set over them in Violation of Justice.

At *Bombay*, all remain in perfect Submission to their great Dictator; they have all the happy Prospect before them of being sent to govern Provinces and Kingdoms, on the same despotic Principles under which they and their Patron have been educated.

At Home a divided Direction, divided Proprietors, a Debt of £400,000, due to Shipping and Trades People, Stocks fallen,
Bonds

Bonds at Discount, to the great Detriment of public Credit, and an unusual Alarm throughout the Kingdom. When the Proprietors, struck with a Sense of the Danger of their Property, called aloud for Lord *Clive* to go Abroad. This great Leader seemed insensible to the Company's Preservation, made such Objections as he could, and when they had failed, he and his Colleagues instead of sending to Lord *Clive* to desire to confer with him on the Measures necessary to be taken for the public Good, coldly informs him, they are ready to prepare such Accommodation as his Lordship may require. And at the last General Court, at the very Moment a Gentleman was declaring his sincere Desire of an Accommodation with Lord *Clive*, his Friend, Sir *J. Hodges*, had in his Hand a Motion, meant to deprive us of his Lordship's Services.

Was this the Way to Effect that Unanimity we so earnestly wish for? What is that has caused these violent Dissentions at Home? Why was Mr. *P—e* forced out of the Direction? Why Mr. *R—e*? And lastly, why is it made so uneasy to Mr. *A——*, that he cannot continue in it? It indicates some overbearing Spirit that can bear no Controul; if there is such a one, let us exclude him from it; and by establishing Unanimity at Home, remove that Obstacle to the only Remedy, we can apply to our present Evils; give Lord *Clive* Reason to hope he shall be firmly supported, in the great Measures he has in View, for the re-establishing Unanimity and Tranquility abroad, and for fixing the Company's Trade and Possessions on such a solid Basis, that we may be no more exposed to such repeated Alarms for our whole Property.

Since

Since the foregoing went to the Press, Advices are arrived that confirm the Opinions of the Gentlemen, who have called the late General Courts, and respecting the Conduct of Affairs at Home and Abroad.

THE Opposition given to the Governor, in *Bengal*, not the Effect of Faction, or of Avarice ; but a well-grounded Sense of the Dangers resulting from the extravagant Powers given into the *Nabob's* Hands, by the *Mongheer* Treaty, and from the Preparation the *Nabob* had been making for the last three Years, which they justly predicted were against the *English*.

No sooner had the Governor made the Concessions which appear in the *Mongheer* Treaty, than the *Nabob*, either deeming it the Effect of Fear, or convinced he should be protected in every Measure by his Friends in *Calcutta*, determined to convince his Subjects of the State of Humiliation to which he had brought us, he instantly issued out Orders of the most oppressive Nature, forbidding all Intercourse with us, or those employed by us, in some Places, forbidding us even the Use of Fire and Water, at one of our Factories, and encouraging his People to every Act of Violence.

The Governor, at last convinced of his Error, acknowledged the Propriety of the Council's Refusal to confirm it ; but was nevertheless persuaded the *Nabob* would yield those Points up that were the most complained of, but he was soon undeceived. Mr. *Amyatt* and Mr. *Hay* were sent to confer with *Cossim Ally Cawn*,

Gawn, at *Mongbeer*, and to adjust a new Treaty with him. I now repeat the Words of a Letter from a Gentleman in Council of very fair Character, and who has been a steady Opposer of the political System, from the deposing *Meer Jaffer*, to the Period I am Writing of: "Mr. *Amyatt* soon after his Arrival, "became sensible of the Danger he was in, and from the "Whole of the Nabob's Behaviour, and the formidable Preparations that every where appeared, was convinced he intended a very speedy Rupture. He found himself reviled whenever he went Abroad, insulted in the Nabob's Presence, who only replied in taunting, scoffing Terms, to the Regulations proposed to him; they found their Liberty gone, and that they were no better than State Prisoners. Mr. *Amyatt* wrote his Sentiments to the Council at *Calcutta*, of the Nabob's fixed Intention to come to a speedy Rupture; that he looked on the Safety of himself, and the Gentlemen with him, as very precarious; but desired them to have no Regard to that, but to act as they thought most consistent with the Interest and Honour of the Nation."—The Sequel the Public are already acquainted with. I mean in this short Relation only to prove, how little these worthy Servants have deserved the Treatment they have met with, and to shew how the Directors have been deceived by the Arts of a Man, who never lets any Thing appear but in the Light he would have it. Nor can he refrain from the Practice of these Arts, even now that he has brought on himself so general a Censure.—Did it

not come from good Authority, who could believe that any Man sitting in that Direction, should dare to put a Negative on a Motion, to call in Mr. *McGuire*, late third in Council, at *Bengal*, who arrived in the last Ship, to receive from him such Information as he might have to lay before them, respecting the State of Affairs, in *Bengal*, when he left it. Whether their Dissentions had ceased since the Revolution in Favour of *Meer Jaffer*? And how the Appointment of *Spencer* and *Price* would be received? Yet, there was a Man, who dared oppose so just a Motion, because it would influence the Election,—if, at such a Time as this, a Man dare act in such a Manner. What may be expected, should he find a Support from the Proprietors, after such an open Declaration of his Principles.

Would the Proprietors establish Unanimity at Home, and give Stability to the Company's Affairs abroad, let them chuse a Set of Directors, who are likely to make the Company's Interest alone their Object, and let them now adopt some Plan for the future Government of their Affairs abroad.

Let the ablest Men in the Kingdom be consulted on it; let them fix the Boundaries of our territorial or commercial System; judge how far it may be proper to extend either, consistent with that Permanency we all desire; that we may be no more exposed to those continual Apprehensions of our whole Property; and if Lord *Clive* can be prevailed on to go Abroad,

let

let him have the Settling of the whole political System of *India*; we know his Zeal for the Company, his Abilities, and his moderate Use of Power; we have every Thing to hope from him, and Nothing to fear: To put Mr. ——— in Competition with him, is to shew very little Sense of the Services his Lordship has already done, or may be expected from him.

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